

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 231059 TOSEC 140002

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TAGS: PFOR, UN, CH, US

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - CH'IAO KUAN'HUA'S UNGA
SPEECH

FOR BARBIAN FROM HABIB AND LORD

1. FOLLOWING IS OUR COMMENT ON CH'IAO'S UN SPEECH, AND
SHOULD BE PUT WITH THE BRIEFING BOOK FOR THE SUNDAY
NIGHT DINNER. (AMB. MOYNIHAN HAS ALSO ASKED THAT HE SEE
ANY ANALYSIS WHICH WE PREPARE.)

2. BEGIN TEXT:

AS YOU NOTED, CH'IAO KUAN-HUA'S SEPTEMBER 26 SPEECH TO THE
UNGA TOOK A TOUGH LINE AGAINST THE US. ALTHOUGH AS USUAL
THE SOVIETS WERE THE TARGETS FOR SOME OF HIS MORE BITING
CRITICISM, THIS TIME WE WERE MORE EQUALLY ATTACKED THAN IN
THE PAST. HE PULLED NO PUNCHES WHEN ATTACKING THE US
GENERALLY AND SPECIFICALLY, SUCH AS KOREA AND THE MIDDLE
EAST. IF TAKEN AT FACE VALUE, THE SPEECH WOULD SUGGEST MORE

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STRONGLY THAN MOST PRC STATEMENTS THAT THE US AND THE PRC

HAVE FEW IF ANY COMMON INTERESTS.

IN ADDITION TO WHAT HE SAID ON PARTICULAR ISSUES, SOME

EXPECTED, SOME NOT, WHAT IS PERTURBING IS THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF HIS CRITICISM OF THE US.

-- THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ARE BLAMED FOR MOST OF THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS; BECAUSE OF THEIR CONTENTION, "THEY ARE BOUND TO GO TO WAR AGAINST EACH OTHER SOME DAY." BOTH SUPERPOWERS "ARE AFTER WORLD DOMINATION." HOWEVER, HE DID SAY THAT "THE DANGER OF WAR COMES MAINLY FROM THE WILDLY AMBITIOUS SOCIAL IMPERIALISM."

-- "THE MORE EVILS THEY (THE SUPERPOWERS) DO, THE MORE THOROUGHLY THEY WILL REVEAL THEIR TRUE FEATURES..."

-- THE U.S. "HAS NOT LAGGED BEHIND" THE SOVIETS IN STIMULATING CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA. HOWEVER, THIS IS ALL HE SAYS ABOUT US AND THE SOVIETS ARE ATTACKED AT LENGTH.

-- "U.S. INTERFERENCE IN KOREA IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF CONSTANT TENSIONS IN KOREA." RECENT U.S. PROPOSALS ON THE KOREA QUESTION ARE DESIGNED TO LEGALIZE THE PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA AND TO PERPETUATE THE DIVISION OF KOREA. THE U.S. DRAFT RESOLUTION IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE. WHILE NOT BEING SO EXPLICIT IN REJECTING OUR CONFERENCE PROPOSAL, HE IS HIGHLY NEGATIVE ON THAT AS WELL. THE CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES IS MORE CATEGORICAL THAN IN THE PAST.

-- IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE U.S. PROPOSES A "STEP-BY-STEP SOLUTION" AND THE SOVIETS A "COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION". BOTH TRY TO "MASQUERADE AS A FRIEND OF THE ARAB AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLE." THE U.S. HAS NO INTENTION OF BRINGING ABOUT A THOROUGH SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION (THE SOVIET UNION IS EVEN LESS INCLINED.) LIKE THE SOVIET UNION, THE U.S. PREFERS A "NO WAR, NO PEACE" SITUATION. THERE ARE SPECIFIC CRACKS AGAINST OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORTS: THE "STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE" NOT
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"AGREEMENTS ON PAPER" WILL DETERMINE THE FUTURE. A "SUPERPOWER IS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION TO SOW DISCORD AND ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE ARAB UNITY."

-- REGARDING THE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER, THE U.S. STRESSES "INTERDEPENDENCE" IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE OLD ORDER. "SINCE THE USE OF OIL AS A WEAPON BY THE OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES, ONE SUPERPOWER HAS KEPT HURLING ABUSES AND

WAVING THE BIG STICK AT THEM AND EVEN THREATENED THEM
WITH ARMED INTERVENTION..." CH'IAO CLOSELY TIES CHINA
TO THE THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE.

EVEN WHEN ABBREVIATED LIKE THIS IT IS A FORMIDABLE LITANY,

BEYOND THE "EMPTY CANNONS" WE HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO IN THE
PAST.

WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ABOUT WHY THE CHINESE LEADERS
DECIDED TO TAKE SUCH A HARD LINE AGAINST THE U.S. SOME
POSSIBILITIES:

-- THEY MAY ASSUME, ON THE BASIS OF PAST EXPERIENCE,
THAT WE WILL ROLL WITH THE PUNCH AND NOT LET SUCH SPEECHES
AFFECT OUR BASIC RELATIONSHIP.

-- PEKING PROBABLY JUDGES (FROM DEBATES IN THIS COUNTRY,
SLIPPAGE ON SALT AND BREZHNEV VISIT, ETC.) THAT WE ARE
HAVING TROUBLES WITH MOSCOW AND THAT THIS REDUCES OUR
LEVERAGE ON THE CHINESE.

-- IN ADDITION, THEY CALCULATE GENERALLY THAT WE ARE
ON THE STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE AND ARE LESS ABLE TO CONDUCT
A COHERENT AND EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY.

-- FOR REASONS RELATED TO PRC LEADERSHIP TENSIONS AND
POLICY DEBATES, EVEN THOSE CHINESE LEADERS WHO SUPPORT
THE RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE U.S. FEEL IT IS NECESSARY TO
PROTECT THEIR FLANKS.

-- THEY HAVE PROBABLY CONCLUDED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S
TRIP IS UNLIKELY TO RESULT IN A BREAKTHROUGH ON THE TAIWAN
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ISSUE AND ARE THEREFORE NOT PARTICULARLY WORRIED ABOUT THE
EFFECT OF A SPEECH LIKE THIS ON OUR ATTITUDE ON THAT
ISSUE.

-- IN ANY EVENT, THE SPEECH REFLECTS ONE ASPECT OF PRC
STRATEGY IN DEALING WITH US: THE PRC IS NOT GOING TO
ADJUST ITS VIEWS TO ACCOMMODATE THE U.S., SO THE U.S.
MUST DO THE ACCOMMODATING.

NONE OF THESE EXPLANATIONS ARE FULLY SATISFACTORY IN THEM-
SELVES. THE PRC MOTIVATION IS PROBABLY AN AMALGAM OF ALL
THEM.

WE BELIEVE THAT EARLY DURING YOUR DINNER WITH CH'IAO, YOU
SHOULD INDICATE YOUR SERIOUS DISAPPOINTMENT IN HIS SPEECH,

PERHAPS ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

-- WE HAVE NOTED THE MARKED CONTRAST BETWEEN CH'IAO'S
CRITICISM OF THE U.S. AND YOUR REMARKS ABOUT CHINA IN
YOUR UNGA SPEECH.

-- IN ADDITION TO THE GENERAL STRIDENCY, THERE IS

GRATUITOUS OVERKILL ON PARTICULAR ISSUES. WE UNDERSTAND
CHINESE DIFFERENCES WITH US AND EVEN THEIR NEED FOR SOME
POSTURING, BUT WE DON'T UNDERSTAND WHEN THEY EVEN SINGLE
OUT AREAS IN WHICH WE THOUGHT THERE WERE IMPORTANT PARAL-
LEL ELEMENTS IN OUR VIEWS, AS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

-- HARD-LINE SPEECHES IN THE UN NOT ONLY MAKE THE
ATMOSPHERE AT THE UN MORE CONTENTIOUS BUT ALSO DO NOT
HELP TO BUILD THE CLIMATE WHICH IS NECESSARY FOR THE
FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. KISSINGER

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